

CIVIL WRONGS IN ULSTER: CRAIG ON THE RUN

RRANK-AND-FILE militancy against State power in Ulster is, according to latest reports from the Six Counties, increasing daily.

Last Saturday's march by 15,000 civil rights demonstrators—and more revolutionary elements—through the streets of Derry is the nearest thing to a victory chalked up against the regime yet.

Harried by their own marshals and stoned by gangs of Paisley bigots, they nonetheless successfully defied William—'Sieg Heil'—Craig's one-month ban on marches inside the walled area of the city and occupied the Diamond, Derry's main square.

Indicative of police loyalties was the way the heavy-footed dupes of the Royal Ulster Constabulary stood passively by, making no attempt to stop the periodic hail of 'loyalist' rocks. This, in contrast to the earlier massing of cops—an Irish comrade estimated on the phone on Monday 400 of them—behind buses and barricades on the Craigavon Bridge as the marchers approached.

Hardly surprising, then, that injuries were not few in number.

Effects of the demonstration were almost immediate—as well as the first sign that the revolt is spreading on any scale to those who really matter: dockers were on the march on Monday afternoon, two days after the demonstration, and a factory of women workers. The women have come out before, but, significantly, this is the first time they have actually gone onto the streets.

Latest news at the time of going to press (Monday evening) is that two civil rights 'leaders' have taken out summonses against Craig for 'conduct likely to cause a disturbance of the peace'. So even the tragedy is not without an element of farce.

Most tyrannical of the laws behind which the ruling autocracy hides itself are, of course, the Special Powers Acts. Though notorious, their real extent has been little mentioned by the English press. In fact, just prior to his untimely death, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd went so far as to remark that Northern Ireland had the 'ideal system of state control'.

Under these Acts the police are empowered to: arrest without warrant; imprison without charge or trial, and deny recourse to Habeas Corpus; search homes without warrant; declare a curfew and prohibit meetings and assemblies; permit punishment by flogging; arrest persons it is desired to examine as witnesses, forcibly detain them and force them to answer questions under threat of punishment, even if answers may incriminate them; prevent access of relatives or legal advisers to anyone imprisoned without trial; arrest anyone who 'by word of mouth' is alleged to have spread 'false reports' or made a 'false statement'; prohibit the circulation of any newspaper; prohibit the possession of any film or gramophone record.

As though all this were not enough, the police can arrest anyone who does anything 'calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order and not specifically provided for in the regulations'. Craig can also, of course, ban strikes.

Perhaps the most sinister feature of the Special Powers Acts, however, is that an inquest on any person 'found dead' in Northern Ireland can be prohibited. The possibilities inherent in this are, needless to say, obvious. Some years ago, for example, following allegations of police 'malpractices', the police—surprise, surprise—conducted an enquiry. They revealed that the man in question had, in fact, 'shot himself dead in Brown Square police station, Belfast, while being interrogated by arresting officers'. No one, of course, was to blame for this inconsiderate fellow's demise.

Meanwhile, comrades in Belfast report

that the anarchist group is attracting new members every week, and that Queen's University now has a militant RSSF branch. The attitude of Belfast comrades to the present situation was summed up by one of them this week: 'I agree that one-man-one-vote is a bit of a drag, but coalition is necessary at this stage.'

Of the Civil Rights Association he said: 'It is led by Betty Sinclair, an aged Stalinist hack, and Eddie McAteer, an aged Nationalist hack. The young prefer to organise for themselves.'

The recently-formed 'People's Democracy', however, he describes as 'the most democratic body in Northern Ireland at present'. Based at Queen's, it is open to anyone and there are no membership cards. It has a changing committee, who are elected to do various jobs. Among other things, it intends to set up citizens' advice bureaux and picket 'Rachman' landlords.

'It is becoming more and more socialist—but libertarian as opposed to bureaucratic. Members are more militant since the police hit some of them. More young workers are getting involved.'

Footnote: One Belfast comrade told a mass meeting last week: 'The fact that there isn't one-man-one-vote at the moment just shows how reactionary the buggers are. But once you get it, they will shit on you still.' He added: 'I am an anarchist.' There were great cheers.

REG B.

TOM HILLIER

TOM HILLIER, a well-known militant, was arrested a week after he took part in a demonstration in solidarity with French students and workers on May 26. The demonstration went to the French Embassy and ended in Hyde Park, where there was a meeting on the grass. A number of people spoke, including Tom Hillier, who made an appeal for funds to help those arrested at the French Embassy. At this point Chief Inspector Donnelly tried to arrest him, on the grounds that it was illegal to make a collection in the park. A crowd surrounded the inspector. Tom Hillier slipped away. A scuffle developed, with the police hitting out at all and sundry.

For this Tom Hillier was charged with using 'threatening words whereby a breach of the peace might have been occasioned', 'incitement to riot', 'assaulting a police officer in the execution of his duty', and 'incitement to assault a police officer in the execution of his duty'.

He has now been tried. (See Tom Hillier's letter in this issue.) The trial ended on November 5. He was found guilty (by a majority verdict) of using 'threatening words', but not guilty (by a unanimous verdict) of all the other charges.

The judge (Christmas Humphries—a leading British Buddhist oddly enough) told the jury that if they found Tom Hillier not guilty of any of the charges they were taking one of two alternatives:

(1) Either they were saying that the eight police witnesses were gravely mistaken and therefore grossly incompetent; (2) or that they were saying that the eight police witnesses were involved in a deliberate conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.

No indication has yet been given of which alternative was preferred, or of what the authorities are going to do about it.

When 'Freedom' reported the case (June 29) we described the charges as 'fantastic cheek'. The jury appears to have agreed.

EDITORS.

Let's have some REAL Indignation

FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER are man's three basic necessities. There must be an anarchist lesson in the fact that of these three, the one which is most decentralised, least subject to Government control and mass production, most open to free individual choice and even free individual production—clothing—is the one which most nearly meets the needs of the people, is subject to most direct consumer control and is regarded as a source of pleasure by most.

Food is, allowing for agricultural subsidy and so forth, still firmly in the hands of private enterprise, however monopolistic, still provides a wide choice, and is, in capitalist terms, fairly cheaply available in this country.

But housing, which of our three basic needs is most subject to Government control—this is in an appalling condition, has been for years, and is getting worse.

Last week, the BBC television film *Cathy Come Home* was shown to the nation again—for the third time. First time it was shown it shocked the bourgeoisie, who had no idea that thousands of British families existed on a hand-to-mouth basis week by week in conditions unfit for animals to live in; that they were subjected to cruel ham-fisted bumbledom by stupid officials operating inhuman regulations; that wives could be separated from husbands, children taken away from mothers; that if you could make love but not make money; that if you were poor, inarticulate and unable to cope, then boy you've just had it... the bourgeoisie were shocked, and as the play closed with Cathy weeping alone on a railway station while her kids were dragged screaming away from her by po-faced officials, they reached for their cheque-books and sent a fiver to Shelter.

That was two years ago. *Cathy* was shown again last year, and again last week. Each time the impact gets less—and each time it is shown the figures for the homeless and hopeless have grown. Last year there were 4,000 children in State institutions because their families couldn't find a decent home. This year there are 5,000. The number of people existing in

that Eunuch Powell can play upon. It is this irresponsibility that every petty fascist-minded hoodlum can build his emotional clap-trap upon.

The reasons for our shortage of housing has nothing whatsoever to do with the presence of a coloured minority in our midst—but frustrated, deprived, bewildered, over-crowded, under-educated, under-privileged people can more easily hit out at the wog next door than they can see a way out of the general situation which is the real cause of all their troubles—but which they have been taught to accept as the British way of life.

Housing is the key to so much that is wrong in our social set-up that it almost makes us suspect it is a deliberate ploy on the Government's part to keep it in short supply. The shortage itself is always a good election platform, with meaningless promises following meaningless statistics on both sides, and acting as a strong lever for the good old tactic of divide and rule. Prejudice and 'keeping property values up' close off certain areas to coloured tenants and house-owners, so ghettos grow in the areas where they can get in.

There is simply no short-term, political or reformist answer to all this. Nothing

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GOOD ENOUGH FOR HOI POLLOI

For the hoi polloi—Ronan Point system building (see page 2) is good enough, and not even enough of that.

The necessity for everything to make a profit in money terms leads, in many cases to the destruction of perfectly good housing in order to 'properly exploit' the site, but the trimming down of costs to meet the niggardly allowances made by the Government for municipal housing means that good old houses are replaced with poor new ones, or high density blocks, which will be the slums of thirty years hence.

It is all totally inadequate. And social dynamite, too. We are now beginning to understand the psychological pressures brought about by overcrowding, and we don't have to be psychologists to understand the resentments of people deprived of a basic need. It is this

I'm not prejudiced ..



BUT I EXPLOIT THE PREJUDICES OF OTHERS ...

THE FORCES BEHIND POWELL

I BELIEVE IN FREEDOM of speech and democracy, but I believe it should only be awarded to people of British stock', said Dr. David Brown of the National Democratic Party at a meeting on immigration at Grays recently. In the usual fashion of Right-wing demagogues, he was careful to add how much he was against Fascism and Nazism. This did not however prevent him going on to say of 'mixed marriages', 'People who marry outside their identity and society forfeit the right to belong to that society. Mixed marriages can be considered in the same light as homosexuality. They are indulged in by a minority, and the majority find them abhorrent'. So half-castes should be put in a separate state, he said.

In the finale of his speech he said, 'Over 50,000 coloured immigrants will come to this country each year. There is no salvation in any of the three parties, but unless there is we are lost, because the coloured people will outbreed us. There is only one answer—repatriation. Humanitarian and phased over a time, but repatriation it must be.'

He concluded, 'Let us join together, sally forth! This is a struggle for survival. Let us go out with that in our minds, urging us on to make England a safe place for our children to come into. Our forefathers and ancestors died for us.' This was greeted by fervent applause.

Another speaker, Mr. Albert Kingham, said, 'I am not a racist. I don't hate them because their skins are black.

I hate them next to me. I hate their habits. They stink. They smell. It's about time we realised it and made them realise it too.' Earlier he had said, 'During the war we stopped the Germans invading, but we have got a far bigger invasion on our shores now'. (Actually there are now twice as many Germans as Pakistanis in the country.)

'This is our country,' he observed, 'we were here first. Unless a firm hand is taken there will be bloodshed in the street, and I might be in the lead of this.'

The Chairman, Mr. Kevin Baron, hit out at 'the evil ideas which are sapping the moral stamina of our people', whereby 'pride in country and respect of our ancient foundation was no longer entertained in the minds of young people'. Some of the more gullible young people even looked upon authority as 'a means of oppression'. He concluded, 'Our forefathers created, maintained and established civilisation in every part of the world.'

The rest of the speakers seemed to think people from other parts of the world were uncivilised (noisy, unhygienic, pox-ridden, high breeders, overcrowded, etc.) Mrs. Joy Page (Secretary of the Immigration Control Council) brought up leprosy and polygamy. Mr. A. Baron put forward the original argument that people from different races are different. 'They will want a society in which they can live and which you will not be able to live in.'

A large number of National Front members were in the audience at the meeting, which had been called by the

East Anglian Forum. Among the demands made was that all people who entered the country since 1947 should be returned to the country they came from, and that aliens should not be allowed to speak on political matters. The Race Relations Act was attacked for 'curtailing the freedom of the individual to discriminate'.

It is as well that we should be aware of the circulation of ideas such as these. These people could be extremely dangerous. We already have the classic situation for creating Nazism (why use the relatively innocuous and by now semi-humorous term 'Fascist', why not call it what it is?) in this country, that is—economic crisis and a suitable and easily identifiable minority to play the role of scapegoat.

These people are the kind of people who are behind Mr. Powell. Powell does not go so far as to compare 'mixed marriages' to homosexuality. He does not say he hates people because they stink. As a politician he has to watch his words. But behind his smooth phrases lurk the same attitudes and prejudices. He, too, wants to 'repatriate' non-Europeans. Hitler too originally claimed that all he wanted was that the Jews just leave Germany. The result was at the beginning harassment, with window-breaking and beatings. Then it became a herding into ghettos. Finally it ended with actual extermination. People who are capable of feeling such an intense physical revulsion from their fellow humans as some of the speakers quoted above are capable of any cruelty. They are mentally sick people, as is probably Powell himself. Unfortunately there is no way of treating them at present. We must be on our guard.

M.H.

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OBsolete COMMUNISM, by Daniel
and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, translated by
Arnold Pomerans. (Andre Deutsch, 25/-)

WHO IS COHN-BENDIT? Well, for
those who like to get their per-
sonalities right, the name covers both
Daniel and his brother Gabriel who
assisted in writing the book. It is diffi-
cult to write of it without adding to
the considerable cult already surround-
ing this revolutionary firebrand, or, for
that matter, without seeming purposely
to detract from it. But, truthfully, it
is the best piece of ammunition to
come our way in a long time.

Without worrying too much about
anarchist dogma, *Obsolete Communism*
may be taken as a statement of the
radical left and a condemnation of all
forms of Communist bureaucracy and
obstructionism, especially when this is
invoked in the name of 'objectivity'—
the demands of the workers may be
just but *objectively* they are self-
defeating; the students may be acting in
a revolutionary manner but *objectively*
they are aiding counter-revolution. Be-
ware of objectivity!

Also, beware of Trotskyism! This
will surprise many who, thinking of
Trotsky being exiled and later murdered
by order of Stalin, and of Trotsky
proclaiming the doctrine of Permanent
Revolution, regard Leon and his fol-
lowers as kindred souls. They forget
the other side; Trotsky saying: 'The
workers must not be allowed to roam
all over Russia. They must be sent
where they are needed, called up and
directed like soldiers... and all those
who shirk put into concentration camps.'
Trotsky stamping out libertarianism in
Kronstadt and among Makhnovites;
Trotskyists, during May, ordering stu-
dents back to the Sorbonne when they
were on the verge of occupying the
principal ministries of the French govern-
ment; Trotskyists having a picnic in
Hyde Park on October 27 while anar-
chists were tackling the State in
Grosvenor Square.

'Please leave the Communist
Party as clean on leaving as
you would like to find it on
entering.'
—'Obsolete Communism',
p. 50.

Predictably, much of the book deals
with the 'Events of May', and with
the interesting crisis which the State
has created for itself with its Sociology
students. They (the controllers of the
State) can never understand that if people
are sent to universities to study the
various social conflicts they may well
produce solutions smacking of anarchism
or marxism, or something, not at all
desirable in the eyes of the State, and
that armed with this knowledge they
may just decide to do something about
it—even take the problem into the
streets. Poor old self-destroying State!

UNTIL THE NEXT TIME

Perhaps we will have a school of de-
sociology next. That is the great
dilemma of rulers everywhere. How
can they adjust every restive element
into the social framework if they cannot
placate even those who are supposed
to do the adjusting?

The book goes on to describe the
various wriggings of the Communist
Party and the C.G.T. to maintain their
status as normal bourgeois institutions
without losing working class support,
and generally making a disgrace of

themselves. There is also the gradual
feeling of disillusionment among the
followers of the above organisations
from the end of the War and through
the Algerian struggle. However, as this
subject has already been more than
beaten into a cocked hat, we will just
say that this is possibly the best account
so far published and is worth reading.

Newer, and more interesting, I think,
is Cohn-Bendit's tilt at the many forms
and shapes of Bolshevism from 1917
with Lenin and Trotsky, to their various

RONAN POINT

THE POPULAR PRESS is normally
hostile to anarchist ideas—papers
sell best that reassure people that things
can safely be left as they are, but every
now and then there is an event specta-
cular enough to force itself into the head-
lines even though it reveals a glimpse of
the truth.

The consequent torrent of public con-
cern released can lead to a significant
advance towards the free society.

Such recent events have been the
Profumo affair, the planting of the Sgt.
Challenger brick on a peaceful demon-
strator, the Aberfan tip avalanche, the
resistance of the Daniels family to evic-
tion from a hostel for the homeless, and
the Hornsey Art College student take-
over. We have been given more and
more opportunities to see through rents
in the rotten old fabric of authoritarian,
competitive society, and public discon-
tention grows apace.

I believe that the Ronan Point disaster
is firmly in this category and can lead to
an important change of attitudes.

It has now become clear to everyone,
as it has always been to anarchists, that
the built environment is too important
to be left to the alliance of national and
local authorities and big business.

That panacea of housing ills 'indus-
trialised system building' has been
latched onto by the politicians to con us
into thinking that they are dealing effec-
tively with the housing problem. Of
course, they think of housing in quanti-
tative terms, and on this level they should
be solving the armaments problem which
lies behind it.

The real crisis in housing is qualitative.
The implications of industrialised sys-
tem building had not forced themselves
on the public until the partial collapse
of the Ronan Point tower block after a
minor explosion.

One basic problem revealed is, who is
responsible for the structural integrity
of such a building? Ultimately there is
no place for the architect in system

building. The more developed and effi-
cient the system, the less scope there is
for creative imagination and personal
responsibility to be employed. Clerks
and specialist-trained technicians can run
the bits and pieces together, or better
still the computer can be programmed to
produce the cheapest way of stacking the
stock units together.

Because the building has no one who
can call himself its designer, it follows
that everyone involved has to assume
that the system itself takes care of struc-
tural strength.

It is easy to understand how a situa-
tion developed where the concerns of profit
and loss central to the big industrial
undertaking have dictated an approach
to building that has placed rapidity of
construction above soundness of joints
between structural members, and has led
to the production of large cheap panel
units fitted directly together without a
structural frame.

The shareholders have received their
dividends, but we have a series of build-
ings in which any explosion equivalent
to igniting a quart of petrol will blow
out the wall panels allowing the floor to
drop onto the one below which is too
weak to take the extra load and both
drop to the floor below and so on down.

Mercifully this has happened only
once so far, and we have been alerted
to a situation that demands drastic action.
How typical that the immediate official
reaction was to declare that 'there is no
evidence of structural failure', and then
seeing that something had to be done, to
cut off the gas supply that provided heat
for the tenants. How Marie Antoinette
would have approved of the modern
interpretation of her advice to the star-
ving to eat cake if there were no bread,
when officials explained that electricity
could be used for heating instead. (The
likely result of the prohibitive cost of
electricity would be the improvisation of
paraffin heating in the flats leading to
Continued on page 3

BOOK REVIEW

offshoots, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung and
Fidel Castro who have among them
bumped off many millions of proletarians
for not fitting easily into the new
republics of their 'liberators'. Besides
the basic anarchist standpoint that no
rulers are any good anyway, the Bol-
sheviks and their successors all over
the world have reached the further
perversion of putting the interests of
their Party above those of the working
class, and, having done that, trying to
justify such a position with marxist
theory.

What Cohn-Bendit opposes more than
anything else is the supposed need for
the much-vaunted revolutionary van-
guard. This has resulted in and contin-
ues to encourage careerists 'on the
make'.

It is in the light of this bureau-
cratisation that the Bolshevik Party
has been studied. Although its bureau-
cratic nature is not, of course, its only
characteristic, it is true to say that
Communists, and also Trotskyists, Mao-
ists and the rest, no less than the
Capitalist State, all look upon the pro-
letariat as a mass that needs to be
directed from above. As a result, de-
mocracy degenerates into the ratifica-
tion at the bottom of decisions taken
at the top, and the class struggle is
forgotten while the leaders jockey for
power within the political hierarchy.

Against this scene of betrayal and
opportunism Cohn-Bendit compares the
efforts of Makhno and his friends who
said in a manifesto published by the
Cultural and Educational Section of the
Insurrectional Makhnovite Army (!):
'Only by overthrowing all governments,
every representative of authority, by
destroying the State, by a social revo-
lution, can we introduce a true system
of Workers' and Peasants' Soviets and
advance towards socialism.'

Rather interesting, it was, to see the
expression 'All Power to the Soviets'
recently on the front page of *Black
Dwarf*, considering how industrious their
mentor, Trotsky, had been at demolish-
ing such soviets whenever he found
them.

Theoretically, Cohn-Bendit's position
is rather similar to that of Bakunin.
Like Bakunin, he is definitely on the
socialistic wing of the anarchist move-
ment, and, like Bakunin, he is heavily
influenced by Marx. This influence is
felt, however, in his analysis of a
particular situation rather than in his
solution to it. His writing is also, I
think, reminiscent of George Orwell.
Some of the book reads like the more
political pages of *Homage to Catalonia*.

As the title of the book is, after
all, *Obsolete Communism* I have deli-
berately concentrated in this review
more on Cohn-Bendit's criticism of the
Communist position and less on the
account of the 'May Days' episode.
The book does not contain anything
new in the way of anarchist theory but
it is a major statement of our philo-
sophy in clear, distinct language and is
welcome as such. PAT MARREN.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Sunday, November 24, Ken Weller on the 'Motor Industry'. Sunday, December 1, Ron Bailey on 'The Basis of an Anarchist Movement'.
LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.
S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Contact: 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.
WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. GRA 9848. Regular activities.
NORTH LONDON ANARCHISTS. Contact Cindy Scott, 54a Mounthfield Road, Finchley, N.3.
EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Lindsay Wither, 19 Aylmer Road, Shepherds Bush, W.12.

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3rd Friday of each month at Donald and Irene Rowson's at 13 Savernake Road, N.W.3, at 8 p.m.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. C/o John Bonnet, 40 Lullingstone Crescent, St. Paul's Cray, Kent. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.
BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP. Enquiries to 150 Rydal Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent.
BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton at Flat One, 69 Sandon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17. (Entrance side of house.) Regular discussions being held on Tuesdays, 7.30 p.m., Crown, Corporation Street (upper room).
BOLTON. Get in touch with John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.
BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rosmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset. (Wimborne 2991.)
CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 76 East Hill, St. Austell. Discussion meetings on the second Friday of each month at Brian and Hazel McGee's, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.
CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV 7546).
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact: Mervyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.
HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry

Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at The Green, King Street, Leicester.
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.
NOTTING HILL. Meetings at John Bennett's, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS. Contact: Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Wores.
SELBY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact D. Mackay, Residential Site, Drax Power Station, Drax, Selby.
TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS. Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).
Group Addresses:—
BASILDON. M. Powell, 7 Lingercroft, Basildon, Essex.
BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
EPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.
HARLOW. Ian Dallas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.
LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.
NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool. 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.
MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Sue Warnock, 9 Poland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14. 'Freedom' and 'DA' selling outside Central Library, 2.30-4.30 p.m. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.
MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 118 High Park Street, Liverpool 8. Contact: Chris Kneath, Basement, 52

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Finden Road, Whitebank, Brighton.
BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, BN1 3HN. Regular fortnightly meetings.
Contact Secretary.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups).

WELSH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:—Peter Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.
SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Boue, 3 Bay View Crescent, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.
LLANELLI. Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnendy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11 (LEY 8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.
LEYTONSTONE GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Matthews or Ron Bailey (address as above).
STEPNEY. Trevor Jackales, 10 St. Vincent de Paul House, Dempsey Street, Clichy Estate, E.1.
NEWHAM. F. Rowe, 100 Henderson Road, E.7.
ILFORD. Del Leverton, 12 Hamilton Avenue, Ilford.
DAGENHAM. Alan Elliot, 98 Hatfield Road, Dagenham.
WOODFORD. Douglas Hawkes, 123 Hermon Hill, E.18.
LIMEHOUSE. M. Solof, 202 East Ferry Road, E.14.

STUDENT GROUPS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Matthew Robertson, Trinity College, or John Fullerton, Jesus College.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Francis Jarman, Red Brick Lodge, 49 Upper Rock Gardens, Brighton. Meetings every second Thursday jointly with Brighton Group; bookstall every Monday outside J.C.R., 12-2.30 p.m.
YORK UNIVERSITY. Contact Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.
EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY. Contact Dave Lomax, E.A.S. II, U.E.A., Norwich, NOR 88C.
LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION. Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.
LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact us at the bookstall in the Students Union Foyer every Friday lunchtime.
OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Francis Caird, Pembroke College, or Steve Watts, Trinity College.
SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY. Contact Robin Loyal of the Students' Union.

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Secretary: Dave Coull.
ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP. Bob Comrie, 28A Hargate or Ian Mitchell, 3 Sinclair Road.
GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E. or Joe Embleton, 26 Kirkland Road, N.W.
EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.
HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.
FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.
PERTSHIRE / CENTRAL SCOTLAND. Iain MacDonald, Craigeach, Bridge of Gour, near (?) Rannoch Station, Perthshire.
MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden.

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Robert Downwood, 10 Newry Street, Belfast, BT6 9BN. Meetings every Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.
USA. James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.
DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gøthersgade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.
VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, c/o 24-160 East 20th, N. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 985 7599 or 987 2693.
USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Discussion meetings. Actions. Contact Ed. Strauss, RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.
SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.
SWEDEN: Libertad, Allmänna Vägen 6, Gothenburg.
TORONTO LIBERTARIAN - ANARCHIST GROUP. 217 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Liberarian'.
PROPOSED GROUPS
LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Contact Les Smith, 192 Euston Road, Morecambe, Lancs.
KINGSTON, WILTSHIRE. MERTON, New Malden and Surrey. New group forming. Please contact K. W. Bennett, 63 Hook Road, Epsom, Surrey, or G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom, Surrey.
PRESTON. Contact I. B. Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston.

FRAME-UP FAILS

Dear Sirs,
I thought that as the subject of lawyers and their practices was now topical, that my recent trial would be of some interest.
I appeared before Judge Christmas Humphries on Thursday, October 31, in No. 4 Court, West Court, Old Bailey. I had been accused of offences arising out of demonstration in solidarity with French workers and students which took place on Sunday, May 26. (See 'Defend Tom Hillier!'—FREEDOM, June 29.)

The charges on the indictment were: Incitement to riot; Using threatening words; Assaulting a police officer and inciting others to assault a police officer.

I had appeared on several occasions at Marlborough Street Magistrates' Court prior to being committed for trial. The last time I appeared at Marlborough Street I had a statement read out by my Counsel, Miss Nina Stanger. It read: 'In my considered opinion these charges against me are the result of a political decision by the Authorities, they are based on fabricated and distorted evidence, the purpose being to stifle radical forms of protest and demonstration.'

The forces ranged against me were formidable. The police witnesses included Supt. Garrett, Supt. Donnelly, Det. Chief Inspector Jones (Special Branch), Det. Sergeant Adams (Special Branch), Det. Constable Pinner (Special Branch), and other lesser lights. The Prosecution Counsel, Mr. Dennison, was also no 'push-over'.

After Friday's hearing (November 1) when five police officers had given their evidence, I was summoned to a hasty conference with my Defence Counsel and Solicitor. It was pointed out to me that the police had a powerful case and that their evidence was overwhelming. In short, both my Defence Counsel, Mr. Troop, and my Solicitor, were ready to surrender and I of course would be the sacrifice.

I was advised in a cloying hushed tone that if I agreed to plead guilty I would go out of court on Monday (Nov. 4) a free man (no doubt with a suspended sentence and a fine but nevertheless free!). The Judge, I was told was a lenient man and a Buddhist. I said that if it were true that he was lenient I had nothing to fear if found guilty—as to the relevance of his religious beliefs I hadn't been charged with murder and in any case capital punishment had been abolished.

So it went on. Mr. Troop enquired as to the ages of my three children, obviously trying to induce me to agree to the deal. The conversation was nauseating. I had declined the deal but so sure were my defence team that I would surrender by Monday that they even discussed putting off my defence witnesses!

I discussed the deal with my wife Mary. Without hesitating she said, 'You couldn't do that—you want to fight it—go ahead, we know what happened to Terry Chandler.' Considering the responsibility she would have in the event of my being imprisoned, this took courage. I felt twice as strong and even more determined to do battle.

The trial lasted from October 31 to November 6 and after all the evidence was heard and an ITN TV newsreel had been shown, the two Counsels made their final speeches. It was pointed out by the Prosecution Counsel, Mr. Dennison, that the accused had claimed under cross examination 'that either the police witnesses were all gravely mistaken or were deliberately lying'. The Judge, during a vicious one-sided summing up, also touched on what he called 'the sinister implication'. He reminded the jury of my political statement which he read out again.

However the jury either believed that the police were mistaken or indeed lying,

for they unanimously acquitted me of incitement to riot, assaulting a police officer and incitement to assault.

I was found guilty (by 11-1) on the charge of threatening behaviour and using words likely to lead to a breach of the peace. I received a 9 months' suspended sentence (over three years!). So despite the line-up of Judge, Police and spineless defence—I, with the witnesses, won the case. I look upon the conclusion of this trial as firstly a victory for the Left.

Among my witnesses were members of various Libertarian Groups—SWF, International Socialism, Anarchist and Solidarity—people from these tendencies turned up to support me and made a real contribution to my morale.

Without this support, my will and determination to fight the case would have been affected I'm sure. The conviction of my innocence and the knowledge that I had the support of my family and the movement stiffened my resolve.

This trial showed that different tendencies can walk together on specific issues. Only distorted bureaucratically-run organisations like the Healyite SLL (described by the police witnesses and Judge Humphries as 'peaceful well-organised people') would stoop to describe this kind of comradeship and solidarity as 'unprincipled'. They have their principles, we have ours. The approval of the Capitalist Authorities is something we don't aspire to.

TOM & MARY HILLIER.

Surrealist Factory Life

Dear Editors,

Your reviewer of Peter C. Brown's book *Smallercreep's Day* is right to be so enthusiastic. It is one of the very few books which describe factory life from a surrealist but perfectly accurate look at many absolutely insane routines. It also describes the triviality and acceptance that most men put up with in order to take home their weekly wage packet. But it should not only be read by factory workers. It is a book to be on every school teacher's list; every student of sociology; every educator.

Few people can look at their own work objectively. Peter Brown only wrote this after leaving the shop-floor; becoming a carpenter and sculptor; writer and potter.

I met him in 1960, walking to Holy Loch—the home of the Polaris Submarine Depot ship—with two canoes he had built for the job of sailing into the loch and symbolically obstructing free passage of such killerships. Since then, in the manner of Stirner, he has gone his own way. Carved incredible totem poles—one of which directs you to his cottage home and pottery—worked at Slimbridge Wildfowl Trust and gradually developed his very beautiful, functional and individual pots (mugs—dishes—jugs). Helped throughout by his wife Mary and their four flaxen-haired children.

If you get down near Gloucester or Bristol his pottery is between the two cities off the A38 near Dursley (not far from Stroud if you come over the Cotswolds). His pottery and cottage, one and the same, are at: Greenstreet Cottage, Greenstreet, Little Cam, near Dursley, Glos.

Sincerely,

DENNIS GOULD.

P.S.—*Smallercreep's Day*, originally published by Gollancz, is now a Panther paperback, 5s. I checked with Panther who say it's still in print—though I haven't seen it on bookstalls recently. Well worth asking for.

RONAN POINT

Continued from page 2 greatly increased risk of fire if not of more explosions.)

Happily, the tenants found that they had the strength when freely organised together to force the authorities to find alternative permanent accommodation for them, evacuate the buildings and do the next best thing to pulling the wretched blocks down, strengthen the joints.

This is an important step towards the time when housing will be designed by identifiable human beings, using their full professional competence in the service of voluntary associations of co-operative home owners, with whom they will be in direct contact, and whose critical appraisal of the designs will be informed by the knowledge that their own decisions are crucial to the way they and their children will be able to live their lives.

We should no longer allow politicians responsive to high finance interests to impose their will on emasculated architects and the public be invited to like it or lump the soul-destroying consequences.

B.J.R.

Devil Looks After His Own

FIFTH COLUMN

HOW IRONIC that in the week when Barbara Castle was trying to force building employers and the unions to reduce a wage agreement already reached by joint negotiation, the Home Office should announce a substantial increase for policemen, coupled with a reduction in the working week.

What a typical example of the State looking after its own unproductive parasites, while the workers who produce one of the basic needs of the community should be held down.

What a typical example of a so-called socialist in power imposing a governmental decision against the interests of the workers—when the existing negotiating machinery of which the labour movement is supposed to be so proud has already worked to the satisfaction of employers and unions.

Barbara Castle is Minister of Employment and Productivity, and as such her job is to try to enforce the Government's Incomes Policy, in the interests of productivity, and all wage increases have to be in some way tied up with productivity agreements.

May we ask the Minister what this means in respect of the fuzz? Are we to get more arrests for our money? Are we to have greater coolness at demonstrations—or more beating-up in the back streets? Will they help more old ladies across roads or will they tell more lies in court?

Whatever it is, they will be handsomely paid for it. No other unskilled worker gets better starting pay than your actual

Yorkshire Anarchist Federation

THE PROPOSAL for a Yorkshire Anarchist Federation has received support from groups/individuals in York, Sheffield, Hull, Pontefract and Selby.

Letters, explaining the proposals, have been sent to comrades/groups throughout Yorkshire. However if you haven't received one please contact the address below.

Proposals made already include: 1. That a Yorkshire Anarchist newspaper be founded; 2. That the proposed Federation have a secretary, an instant recall, etc.; 3. That the Federation work with like-minded organisations in Yorkshire.

A founding conference will be held in the near future to discuss methods of organisation, tactics and the proposed paper, etc.

Will any Yorkshire comrades interested in the proposed Federation please write C. Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, Selby, Yorks.

KING BILLY RIDES AGAIN

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY does not avoid foreign affairs. Spokesmen are quite happy to comment on events in distant lands like Czechoslovakia or Vietnam, Northern Ireland is much nearer home—it can be seen from Scottish soil. It is very like Scotland. The Tory Party is called 'Unionist', and the Opposition 'Nationalist'. Ulstermen come to Scotland for the Orange Walk, and Scottish pipe bands play in Belfast on the Twelfth. So when the 'Irish question' was dramatically reopened, an outside observer might expect the SNP to express some opinion. After all, the 'Orange Free State' is important to many Scots. Thousands have marched in Edinburgh and Glasgow, demanding 'Hands off Ulster'. Yet from the Scot Nats—silence.

The Scots Independent of November 9 states, with obvious approval, 'Northern Ireland has shown it wants no interference from Westminster'. But that is just exactly what some people in NI do want. Irish nationalists, strangely enough, have been particularly loud in demanding that Ulster be regarded as an integral part of

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copper, for whom, at the age of 19, pay now stands at £765 p.a. The increase (which is retrospective, back to September 1) will bring that up to £805 and, in September, 1969, up to £830. The maximum for a constable is now £1,135, will go up to £1,195, and next year to £1,230. These are basic wages for a 40-hour week. The standard week is likely to be around 46 hours, so earnings will be £2 to £3 above basic. Reduction in hours is calculated as being worth a further 4 per cent.

This pay increase follows a 9 per cent. increase in 1967!

No wonder Mrs. Castle was said to be angry at the Home Office for announcing this police rise on the very day she was browbeating the building industry to cut its increase to a measly 2½d. an hour for skilled men!

And why was she angry? Was it because as a so-called socialist she thinks housing is important and building workers should get a reasonable living basic wage? Not on your nelly! Barbara Castle is the State, and as such must support the instruments of the State before useful workers. This hypocritical bitch was annoyed because, as the *Guardian* told us, she and her colleagues: 'are convinced that, had the announcement been delayed for 24 hours, the building workers would have accepted Mrs. Castle's original compromise offer earlier this week.'

P.S.

Second Front

THE American Deserters Committee has produced an interesting series of articles in their fourth bulletin. There are now a 100 deserters in Sweden and a large group in France. The assistance given by the SDS in Germany and Beheiren in Japan seems to have encouraged many more to desert lately. In France, the March 22 Group at Nanterre have displayed their usual practical flair by helping the Deserters Committee in Paris. At the end there is the heartening news that over 60% of deserters become active militants and seven were arrested at an American Embassy demonstration on July 7.

Two thousand Swedes later on the same evening demonstrated against their arrest. They are out on bail now and come up for trial later this year. Congratulations to them for the job they are doing. Comrades who want to distribute their material here are advised to get in touch with American Deserters Committee, c/o Verdand 1, Gotgaten 73, Stockholm Sö, Sweden.

DIGGER.

REAL INDIGNATION

Continued from page 1 short of a social revolution can solve the housing problem, since it demands a taking over of the whole building industry to serve the interests of the community instead of the capitalist or power interests it serves now. Nothing less than a re-assessment of social priorities on the basis of need can switch building from offices, roads, factories, prisons (oh yes—the State has a fine five-year programme for building grand new top-security prisons!) to providing what every primitive society can provide for its people—shelter. And nothing less than a social revolution can organise production on the basis of need rather than profit.

JUSTIN.

FOOTNOTE TO THE ABOVE: WHAT DID 'CATHY' DO?

Cathy has been credited not only with 'changing the climate of opinion' but actually bringing to an end the inhuman separation of wives and husbands in hostels. This is in fact not entirely true—it was also the work of direct actionists like our own comrades and the Solidarity Group in putting up the fight at Kinghill Hostel and sitting down outside the comfortable private house of Kenneth Robinson—then Minister of Housing—that had this effect. This direct action campaign preceded the showing of *Cathy*, though not its making, since the BBC turned it down for 2 years, until the campaign first brought the issues to public attention.

Laurens on Harold

HOW MUCH HOLIER than the rest of us is Laurens Otter who sternly declares (this page two weeks ago) that the 'pragmatism' of the International Socialism group is 'not one whit less obnoxious than the pragmatism of Harold Wilson'.

The offence of the group is that having once supported the Labour Party they no longer do so. This is a curious charge: perhaps Laurens would prefer that they continue to support it.

He also accuses the group of not having publicly confessed their original sin of supporting the Labour Party. I also have an original sin to confess: I was born a Conservative. I was then a Liberal for a time and joined the Labour Party before becoming an anarchist. I suspect that a high proportion of FREEDOM's present readers have a similarly 'pragmatic' background. Are we as obnoxious to Laurens as Harold Wilson? If not, why not?

Perhaps we should all distinguish between the political opportunist whose changes of policy are motivated by ambition, who adapts or abandons his principles in order to gain or maintain popularity and power, and the man who quite simply changes his mind.

Most people change their minds partly in response to changes outside them. I joined the Labour Party when it seemed possible that unilateral nuclear disarmament might be adopted as the party's policy. I left it when this hope evaporated. My decisions were not based entirely on the Labour Party's attitude to the bomb, but this was possibly the most influential factor.

The argument put forward by the International Socialism group for remaining inside the Labour Party was based on the assertion that it was a working-class party with certain socialist traditions. It was passively supported by nearly all non-communist socialists. The Labour Party in general—and the Young Socialist organisation in particular—were seen as recruiting grounds for revolutionary socialism.

Of course this argument involved the International Socialists in all sorts of contradictions—such as co-operation with anarchists who were 'objectively industrial blacklegs' and a line of propaganda which can be roughly summarised as 'Vote for George Brown until we shoot him'.

Laurens complains rightly: 'they have never published the reason for their sudden volte face this year which brought them hurriedly out of the Labour Party'. But surely they don't need to: the reason is obvious. The Labour Party has ceased to be their recruiting ground; it no longer holds the passive allegiance of the majority of the working class; it no longer attracts socialists to its ranks.

If libertarian ideas are to continue to spread the new anarchists will come partly from the existing socialist groups. Sometimes an entire group will move in our direction. We have got to lose the habit of saying: anyone who stayed in the Labour/Communist/Independent Labour Party after 1962/1956/1940 is a fascist/authoritarian/pragmatist.

I have not yet mentioned the first point in Laurens Otter's letter: that Paul Foot's book on Wilson was dishonest because it did not include an account of the author's own political development and that of the International Socialism group.

But in an account of his own views where should Paul Foot have begun? With his membership of the Liberal Party? Or his decision to join the Labour Party? Or his entry into the International Socialism group? Similarly with the group itself: should an account have taken as its starting point the walkout from the Communist Party in 1956? Or the collapse of the New Left? Or the election of the 1964 Labour government?

I suspect that if *The Politics of Harold Wilson* had included long passages on the author's past views and the origins and policies of the group to which he now belongs many readers would have been bored: the book's impact would have been considerably weakened. The premise of the book after all is that people are more interested in the politics of Harold Wilson than in the personalities and sects of the far Left.

In his final chapter, 'the futility of pragmatism', Paul Foot does give a brief account of his present views. He does not tell us what he thought in 1956, 1960 or 1964—or mention that his grandfather knew Lloyd George. I do not find this dishonest. I am more interested in the extent to which I agree with what he says now.

'The urgency of creating a new, un-sentimental, libertarian socialism out of the ashes of Harold Wilson's pragmatism cannot be overstated.'

WYNFORD HICKS.

PRESS ON!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:	
45 weeks at £90:	£4,050
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£3,467
DEFICIT:	£583

PRESS FUND

East Bergholt: D.J. £1/5/8; Ohio: G.S. £7; Glasgow: A.M. 3/-; Wigan: B.B. 1/9; Glasgow: J.J. 3/-; Nevada: R.W. 12/-; Kildare: R.B. £1/15/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; London, E.7: P.C. 2/-; St. Cloud: M.A. 3/2; London, S.E.11: H.H. 10/-; London, N.19: M.S. £3/10/-; Pittsburg: O.S. £2.

TOTAL:	£17 10 7
Previously Acknowledged:	£698 6 9
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*Denotes Regular Contributor.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' Full Claim Must be Won

BARBARA CASTLE has just about managed to extricate herself and the Government from the political blunder of threatening to refer the construction workers' agreed interim increase of 3½d. an hour for craftsmen and 3d. for labourers. She has agreed, after consulting Roy Jenkins, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that construction workers can have their increase, but that the Prices and Incomes Board will decide whether the full amount will be paid after their report at the end of the month. If they decide against it, workers will lose a 1d. per hour and they will be back to the original offer

from Barbara Castle, which conforms to the Government's criterion on wages.

By doing this, it makes the PIB an arbitrator on the question of the penny, which was a cost of living increase, paid for the last time in March under the previous wage agreement. But on Thursday evening, after very long talks, the union leaders accepted Barbara's offer and agreed, wrongly, that they would accept the PIB's arbitration decision on the penny. Building workers could lose this after a month's payment.

The union-employer negotiations started in October 1967 on a new pay agreement, but Government waited until May to refer it to the PIB. Their report was to appear before the old agreement expired at the end of October this year, but they got an extension to the end of November. The interim increase was a bridging agreement to prevent any industrial action from the rank and file. By threatening to refer this increase to the PIB as well, the Government stirred up a hornets' nest.

EMPLOYERS' DEMANDS

The unions and employers were quietly going to make an agreement following the PIB report. This would include a number of things the employers are after, in return for a pay increase over a three-year period and a guaranteed 40-hour week. Employers want wage grading. Already the wages of craftsmen and labourers differ by over a shilling an hour, but now the employers want differentials for men performing the same skills. They want interchangeability, breaking down the traditional demarcation between trades, and now that well-organised sites are making good use of their strength, as in the motor industry, they want a tightening up on the bonus schemes, possibly with restraint on the activities and election of stewards.

The PIB is likely to go along with all these points, plus a few more for good measure, to ensure that the employer reaps bigger profits, with the worker, if he is lucky, getting a small increase, but having to work a lot harder for it. Make no mistake about it, the PIB is out to restrict and draw the teeth of militant union organisation on building sites. The employers cannot do this on their own, but the Labour Government's PIB will try to give them every assistance, with the full weight of the State to back them up.

While, only a few weeks ago, the union's original claim of £17 11s. 8d. for craftsmen and £15 for labourers, an increase of about 14%, was either not known or forgotten by the majority of building workers, the Government's

blunder and delay has now focused the attention of the rank and file on the claim. The trade union leaders have a mandate from conferences to secure this amount. The job, now, is to force the unions, employers and Government to grant this increase without any three-year tie-ups and productivity strings.

All this week, until Barbara gave in, building workers have picketed the Department of Employment and Productivity. On Wednesday they picketed the Bonnington Hotel where, at the expense of the members, the union executives met (they could have used one of the union Head Offices) to reject Barbara Castle's 2½d. and 2d. offer. When some of the pickets spoke to Harry Weaver, chief negotiator and General Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, he was more concerned about 'our Government'. He did not want it embarrassed and one wonders whose interests Harry Weaver has at heart. He assured the pickets it was that of the union members, but certainly the deal he has agreed to with Barbara, with whom he was all smiles on Thursday night, is the one that extricated the Government from the very uncomfortable position they had got themselves into.

The majority of union leaders in the construction industry have, all along, accepted the incomes policies of the Government. The few exceptions have done little to oppose it, except to put up their hands at the appropriate moments. It is ironic that these very union leaders, who have given loyal support, had their modest agreement that they thought would be acceptable to the Government, nearly referred to the PIB. If the Government treats its friends in this manner, how will it treat its enemies?

SCARED STIFF UNION LEADERS

Although many workers in the industry take home only the basic rates of £15 13s. for craftsmen, less stoppages, the Labour Government's incomes policies, which were to help the lower paid, are working to effect the opposite. While the Government tries to stop a penny, they allow the police an 8½% increase. Ministry co-ordination and timing boomed badly here and Barbara was obviously annoyed, but as is pointed out elsewhere in the paper, 'the devil looks after his own'.

The struggle facing building workers is a tough one, but it is important that a package deal, incorporating the recommendations of the PIB, is rejected by the rank and file. It seems unlikely that the union leaders will put up a struggle. They fear industrial action as much as the employers for, once it has started, how far will it go? What authority and control will these union bureaucrats have over the members? The struggle has to go beyond pressurising leaders to take action, to organising action for themselves. In 1963, the leadership of the union was scared stiff at the response to the official strike on selected sites, for many selected their own and came out.

At the end of November more will be at stake than 1/6d. per hour, the 1963 claim, so a far greater effort will be needed to prevent the wages and conditions of building workers from being sacrificed so that the employers can make even bigger profits. P.T.

MARCH & LOBBY

THE RESPONSE to the March and Lobby of Parliament by construction workers was disappointing. Although a number of large sites stopped work, the majority of the workers did not turn up at Speakers' Corner.

However, despite this lack of support, our thanks should be extended to the brothers of the West London branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers for organising today's demonstration. Because of circumstances beyond their control, some of the thunder was stolen, probably deliberately, when the union leaders agreed to go to the PIB for the arbitration of the penny. This left many building workers confused, and on some sites, original decisions to come out were reversed. Despite this, the march was

impressive, and although the police ordered the marchers to take down their banners and make their own way to Parliament when the mile boundary was reached, the march continued along the pavement.

Workers lobbied their MPs, but there was also a large hall booked in the House where several Labour MPs spoke, including E. Heffer, Stan Orme and Norman Atkinson. They said that 121 MPs had signed a motion attacking the Government's proposed reference to the PIB, but even they admitted, in the words of Stan Orme, that it was really the strength of the union organisation on the sites that mattered. You must 'organise' he said. How right he is!

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

NOVEMBER 23 1968 Vol 29 No 36

LABOUR RATIONALIZATION (NEDO)

A NATIONAL Economic Development Office (NEDO) survey of new pay procedures in the rubber industry reveals that most shop stewards are reluctant to propose changes that improve efficiency, even if the changes are likely to bring higher wages.

Shop stewards in about a dozen factories co-operated in the inquiry and they represented about 15,000 workers. Whilst the stewards agreed that there was scope for increased efficiency, they pointed out that shortcomings in production control affected output.

The significant point made was the fact that they thought there was little likelihood of any suggestions coming from the shop floor contributing to change. This means that, up to now anyway, workers in the rubber industry have not been completely taken in by 'increased pay through labour rationalization'. A pound in the pocket is not worth 40 men on the dole, when no one knows whose turn it will be next.

Another two important factors came to light. One was the determination to resist any proposals which involve enforced redundancy. The other point which is so often deliberately forgotten in the 1968 rat race: 'In some cases the work rate is fixed as a form of insurance, at a pace suitable for older workers'. In the States you are considered too old at thirty to work on the car assembly belts. What happens to workers over that age

is their problem, one can always starve I suppose.

The NEDO survey arose from an agreement established in the rubber industry that as from January this year weekly earnings in excess of £13 for men and £9 15s. for women would be paid only as a result of productivity bargains made at plant level. Weekly earnings already exceed these new minimum figures. Blimey! How does a man keep a family on £13 a week?

The NEDO report also states that both unions and managements have failed to communicate the full implications of the new agreement to the workers. One would imagine that the workers have got the message—'Work bloody hard to pay for your own increases', irrespective of the profitability of the industry. The report goes on to state that it has been difficult for some managements and even more for some workers to accept that overall increases are a thing of the past.

It wants a bit of swallowing to believe that managements do not know 'which side their bread is buttered'. It is obvious that the workers are getting no butter at all, and they realise this by refusing to accept that straight wage increases are a thing of the past. The answer is increased pay, shorter hours, no redundancy, more mechanization, Workers' Control—only then can one talk 'Productivity'.

B.C.

DON'T BE SHY!

THE Prices and Incomes Board's inquiry into the jobs and salaries of top executives has been accepted by the employers with marked trepidation. A questionnaire has been sent to more than a hundred leading companies. In broad terms the 24 questions ask: What do your executives do for their enhanced salaries? Did salary increases, if any, since 1965 have anything to do with productivity? There is also a thorny question on fringe benefits, i.e. pensions, houses, cars and school fees. The latter benefit is to allow the sons of executives to go to the right school—public school—enabling them to follow in father's footsteps, thus perpetuating the class position of executive personnel.

The Confed. of British Industries and the Institute of Directors are co-operating with the PIB on this exercise (they can hardly do otherwise) but oh! so very gently. They express the fear that if information on salaries was to leak out it could prove useful to a rival concern looking for a suitable applicant to fill a top post. There is

no such thing of course as the executive fraternity and the word going round that an executive is needed by such-and-such a firm. Just whom do they think they are kidding? The PIB have assured the companies that when the report is issued names will not be mentioned and any particular firm will not be recognisable. It will all be treated in the strictest confidence in a similar fashion to the building workers' and printers' wage demands—particularly the confidential way the survey of the newspaper industry was kept hush hush.

Twenty of Britain's major companies are rather coy about having their senior staff interviewed by outside consultants. They fear leaks of confidential information and the time involved with interviews. The companies are willing to let PIB staff conduct the interviews. Aubrey Jones, chairman of PIB, is to have a chat with the directors of the various companies involved, just to assure them that they are not likely to be called before the PIB just because they have granted a director or chairman a 25% salary increase—after all, that is within the Government norm of 3%, it's similar to the recent police award which, strangely enough, is not governed by Prices and Incomes. There is no prize for giving the correct answer as to why?

The Government claim they want to obtain some guide lines on salaries paid in private industry to make comparisons with State industries. They feel that State industrial senior staff men may be underpaid. They realise they may have to pay more to get the men they want. Therefore they must go through this charade in the hope that if the executive staff in the nationalized industries do receive a salary increase, the Joe Soaps in industry will understand and not scream when their 3% demand gets 'turned over'.

One can expect the truth and nothing but the truth to come out of the inquiry. After all men in senior management must be men of the highest integrity, otherwise they could not hold the responsible posts that they do. I also believe that the world is flat.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

North London Anarchists! 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy' on sale at new bookshop The Compendium, 240 Camden High Street, N.W.1.

Home Wanted. Desperate young couple seek London accommodation where they can have child, now elsewhere, to stay. Box 24.

Can anyone translate Landauer's 'The Revolution' from Yiddish into English for Freedom Press?

Scripts wanted for autonomous theatre company in Leeds. Anyone interested write to M. Watkins, 6 Eberston Terrace, Leeds, 6.

Preston Anarchist Group (newly established) would like to hear from other groups both at home and abroad. Require badge (?) and literature. Contact: Ian Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston, Lancs.

Red Paper. No. 2 now out 1/6d. plus 6d. post from: Anthony Reeder, 44 Upper Orwell Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

Job Wanted by young anarchist, ex-university student. Colin, 54 Layfield Road, Hendon, N.W.4.

Isolated Public School. Want to start a Libertarian Socialist Schools' movement. Contact Tim Cousins, Peele B, Christ's Hospital, Horsham, Sussex. Greetings to Swansea anarchists and any left in Bristol.

Time Out. This new information magazine wishes to print advance news of meetings, demos, etc. Time Out, 24 St. George's Court, Gloucester Road, S.W.7.

Greek Social at Three Horseshoes, Heath Street, Hampstead, Saturday, November 30, 7.30 p.m.

Read Beaver! Official organ of the London School of Untrammelled Desire. LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

Badges and Banners. Rectangular metal black/red badges 2/6 each post free or bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each—resell at 2/- or 2/6. Also flags and banners to order, from 7/6. McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Makhno Poster. In aid of (Anarchist) Black Cross. Splendidly designed and printed. 2/6d. from Freedom Press.

Accommodation Wanted. American girl—very pregnant but not penniless, urgently requires accommodation. MAI 5572.

Schools Campaign. Posters available, 6d. each, 5/- per doz. Duplicated leaflets 1/- per 100. Postage extra. Let us have your school leaflets and posters in exchange. Lewisham Anarchist Group.

Interested Person Wanted (Preferably Girl) for second-hand book-shop, Saturdays. Phone 527 3988.

Birmingham Discussion Meetings. Tuesdays at 7.30 p.m. Venue usually at The Crown, Corporation Street. Further information from Peter Neville, c/o Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham, 19. (S.A.E.)

If you wish to make contact let us know.